

## About the Authors

**Edward Alden** is the Bernard L. Schwartz senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), specializing in U.S. economic competitiveness. He is the author of *Failure to Adjust: How Americans Got Left Behind in the Global Economy*, which focuses on the U.S. federal government's failure to respond effectively to competitive challenges on issues such as trade, currency, worker retraining programs, education, and infrastructure. In addition, Alden is the director of the CFR Renewing America publication series and coauthor of a CFR Discussion Paper entitled "A Winning Trade Policy for the United States." His previous book, *The Closing of the American Border: Terrorism, Immigration, and Security Since 9/11*, was a finalist for the Lukas Book Prize, for narrative nonfiction, in 2009. He was the project co-director of the 2011 CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force Report on U.S. Trade and Investment Policy and project director of the 2009 CFR-sponsored Independent Task Force Report on U.S. Immigration Policy. He was previously the Washington bureau chief for the *Financial Times* and prior to that was the newspaper's Canada bureau chief, based in Toronto. He worked as a reporter at the *Vancouver Sun* and was the managing editor of the newsletter *Inside U.S. Trade*. He has won several national and international awards for his reporting. His work has been published in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Fortune*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*. He has a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of British Columbia. He earned a master's degree in international relations from the University of California, Berkeley, and pursued doctoral studies before returning to a journalism career. Alden is the winner of numerous academic awards, including a Mellon fellowship in the humanities and a MacArthur Foundation graduate fellowship.

**Rosa Balfour** is a senior fellow based at the Brussels office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). Her expertise is in the international relations of the EU and its member states, as well as political and institutional developments within the EU. She has researched European foreign policy and external action, relations with the Mediterranean region, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, EU enlargement, European Neighborhood Policy, and the role of human rights and democracy in international relations. She holds an MA in history from Cambridge University, an MSc in European Studies and Ph.D. in International Relations both from the

London School of Economics and Political Science, and is the author of *Human Rights and Democracy in EU Foreign Policy* (Routledge, 2012). Prior to joining GMF, she was director of the Europe in the World Program at the European Policy Centre in Brussels. Other publications include *Europe's Trouble-makers: The populist challenge to foreign policy*, and works on EU foreign policy, including *The European External Action Service and National Foreign Ministries* (co-edited with Caterina Carta and Kristi Raik).

**Maria Demertzis** is Deputy Director at Bruegel, a European economic think tank based in Brussels. She has previously worked at the European Commission and the research department of the Dutch Central Bank. She has also held academic positions at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and the University of Strathclyde, from which she holds a Ph.D. in economics. She holds an MSc in economics from the University of Glasgow and a BSc in economics from the University of Athens. She has published extensively in international academic journals and contributed regular policy inputs to both the European Commission's and the Dutch Central Bank's policy outlets. From 2012-2016 she served as a Visiting Associate Professor of economics at the University of Amsterdam.

**Karl Friedhoff** is a fellow in Public Opinion and Foreign Policy at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. He was previously a Korea Foundation-Mansfield Foundation US-Korea Nexus Scholar and was also a member of the Mansfield Foundation's Trilateral Working Group. He was previously based in Seoul, where he was a program officer in the Public Opinion Studies Program at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies. His writing has appeared in the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, among others, and he has been a frequent guest on both TV and radio to discuss U.S. foreign policy in Asia, South Korea's politics, and international relations in East Asia. Friedhoff earned his BA in political science at Wittenberg University and an MA in international commerce at Seoul National University.

**Daniel S. Hamilton** is the Austrian Marshall Plan Foundation Professor and Founding Director of the Center for Transatlantic Relations at Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS). From 2002-2010 he served as the Richard von Weizsäcker Professor at SAIS, and from 2001-2015 as Executive Director of the American Consortium for EU Studies. He has held a variety of senior positions in the U.S. Department of State, including Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs; U.S. Special Coordinator for Southeast European Stabilization; Associate Director of the Policy Planning Staff for two U.S.

Secretaries of State; and Director for Policy in the Bureau of European Affairs. In 2008 he served as the first Robert Bosch Foundation Senior Diplomatic Fellow in the German Foreign Office. In 2012 he was a member of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's "Futures Advisory Group." He is or has been an advisory board member for a dozen U.S. and European foundations and think tanks, and served as host of *The Washington Post/Newsweek International's* online discussion feature *Next Europe*. He has authored over 100 articles, books and other commentary on international affairs, and has also taught at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, the University of Innsbruck and the Free University of Berlin. From 1990-1993 he was Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; from 1982-1990 Deputy Director of the Aspen Institute Berlin; and from 1979-1982 Program Officer at the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. He has a Ph.D. and MA with distinction from Johns Hopkins University SAIS and an honorary doctorate from Concordia College. Recent publications include "Trump's Jacksonian Foreign Policy and Implications for European Security" (2017); *The Transatlantic Digital Economy 2017* and (with Stefan Meister, eds.) *The Russia File: Russia and the West in an Unordered World* (2017); *Eastern Voices: Europe's East Faces an Unsettled West* (2017), and *The Eastern Question: Russia, the West, and Europe's Grey Zone* (2016). He has been awarded with Germany's Federal Order of Merit (*Bundesverdienstkreuz*); France's *Palme Academiques*; Sweden's Knighthood of the Royal Order of the Polar Star; the Transatlantic Business Award 2006 from the American Chamber of Commerce to the European Union, and the Transatlantic Leadership Award 2007 from the European-American Business Council.

**David C. Hendrickson** is Professor of Political Science at Colorado College and the author, most recently, of *Republic in Peril: American Empire and the Liberal Tradition* (Oxford University Press, 2018). He is also the author of *Union, Nation, or Empire: The American Debate over International Relations, 1789-1941* (2009); *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding* (2003); *Reforming Defense: The State of American Civil-Military Relations* (1988); *The Future of American Strategy* (1987), and three books with Dr. Robert W. Tucker: *The Imperial Temptation: The New World Order and America's Purpose* (1992); *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson* (1990), and *The Fall of the First British Empire: Origins of the War of American Independence* (1982). He was the book review editor ("United States") for *Foreign Affairs* from 1994 to 1998, and has published essays in *Foreign Affairs*, *World Policy Journal*, *The National Interest*, *Orbis*, and

*Survival*. He received his B.A. in history from Colorado College in 1976 and his Ph.D. in political science from Johns Hopkins University in 1982.

**James M. Lindsay** is senior vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), where he oversees the work of the more than six dozen fellows in the David Rockefeller Studies Program. He is a leading authority on the American foreign policymaking process and the domestic politics of American foreign policy. Before returning to CFR in 2009, he was the inaugural director of the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law at the University of Texas at Austin, where he held the Tom Slick chair for international affairs at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. From 2003 to 2006, he was vice president, director of studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at CFR. He previously served as deputy director and senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution. From 1987 until 1999, he was a professor of political science at the University of Iowa. From 1996 to 1997, Dr. Lindsay was director for global issues and multilateral affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. He has also served as a consultant to the United States Commission on National Security/21st Century (Hart-Rudman Commission) and as a staff expert for the United States Institute of Peace's congressionally-mandated Task Force on the United Nations. He has written widely on various aspects of American foreign policy and international relations. His book with Ivo H. Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, was awarded the 2003 Lionel Gelber Prize, named a finalist for the Arthur S. Ross Book Award, and selected as a top book of 2003 by *The Economist*. His other books include *Agenda for the Nation* (with Henry J. Aaron and Pietro S. Nivola), which was named an "Outstanding Academic Book of 2004" by *Choice* magazine; and *Congress and the Politics of U.S. Foreign Policy*. He has also contributed articles to the op-ed pages of many major newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*. He writes the blog "The Water's Edge," which discusses the politics of American foreign policy and the domestic underpinnings of American global power. He holds an AB in economics and political science from the University of Michigan and an MA, MPhil, and Ph.D. from Yale University. He has been a fellow at the Center for International Affairs and the Center for Science and International Affairs, both at Harvard University. He is a recipient of the Pew Faculty Fellowship in International Affairs and CFR International Affairs Fellowship. He is a member of CFR.

**Rainer Münz** is special adviser on Migration and Demography at the European Political Strategy Center (EPSC), the in-house think tank advising the President of the European Commission. He also serves as one of the chairs of KNOMAD, the World Bank's Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development, and as co-chair of Migration Advisory Board of the International Organization for Migration. Prior to joining the EPSC, he was Head of Research and Development at Erste Group, a Central European retail bank headquartered in Vienna. He also worked as Senior Fellow at the European think tank Bruegel (Brussels), the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (HWWI) and at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI, Washington DC). Until 2004, he had an academic career as researcher at the Austrian Academy of Sciences from 1980-1992 and at the Department of Mathematics of Finance/TU Vienna from 2002-2004 as well as university professor at Humboldt University, Berlin (1992-2002). He also was visiting professor at the Universities of Bamberg, UC Berkeley, Frankfurt, HU Jerusalem, Klagenfurt, Vienna and Zurich. He currently teaches at the Central European University (CEU), Budapest, and the University of St. Gallen (HSG). In 2000-01 he was a member of the German commission on immigration reform (Süssmuth commission). Between 2008 and 2010 he was a Member of the high level "Reflection Group Horizon 2020-2030" of the European Council (Gonzales commission).

**Dina Smeltz** joined the Chicago Council on Global Affairs as a senior fellow on public opinion and foreign policy in 2012. She oversees the Council's well-known annual survey of American attitudes toward U.S. foreign policy and also directs the Council's collaborations with international polling organizations in Russia, Asia and Mexico. She has published commentary on this research in *The Washington Post*, *Foreign Policy*, the *National Interest*, CNN and on the Council's survey blog *Running Numbers*. Prior to joining the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, she worked for the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the U.S. State Department's Office of Opinion Research. As a division chief of survey research in the Middle East and South Asia division (2001-2007) and analyst/chief of the European division (1992-2004), she conducted over a hundred surveys in these regions and regularly briefed senior government officials on key research findings. With a special emphasis research in post-conflict situations, she has worked with research teams in Bosnia, Kosovo, Cyprus, Israel-Palestinian Territories and in Iraq. She received three Superior Honor awards from the Department of State in addition to several other performance awards, and has an MA from the University of Michigan and

a BS from Pennsylvania State University. She has authored many publications on U.S. foreign policy and public opinion, most recently as co-author of *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy: Insights and Evidence* (7th edition, 2017) and *What Americans Think about America First*, the results of the 2017 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy.

**Teija Tiilikainen** is the Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA). Before her nomination to this position in 2010, she was the Director of the Network of European Studies at the University of Helsinki (2003-2009). She has also served as Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland from 2007 to 2008. In her research, Dr. Tiilikainen has focused on issues related to European integration (institutional questions, the EU's external relations incl. CFSP and CSDP) and on European security policy. She has published widely on these topics; her recent book is an edited volume (together with Timo Behr) entitled *Northern Europe and the Making of the EU's Mediterranean and Middle East Policies* (Ashgate, 2015). In 2017 she published (together with Tuomas Iso-Markku, Juha Jokela, Kristi Raik and Eeva Innola) an extensive report mapping the EU's future trends entitled *The EU's choice: perspectives on deepening and differentiation* (FIIA Report 50/2017). She has published around 100 articles and book chapters in academic publications and publications directed at a wider audience. She was the Special Representative of the Prime Minister of Finland in the Convention on the Future of Europe in 2002-2003 and a member of the OSCE Panel of Eminent Persons on European Security as a Common Project led by ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger in 2015-2016. She was also a member of the Group of Personalities nominated by the European Commission in 2015 to prepare a funding instrument for defense-related research in the EU. She is currently a member of the board of the University of Helsinki and a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences.